News from Bulgaria

ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR THE WORKSHOP COUNCILS.

Vol. X. No. 32. October 27, 1923. WEEKLY.

Europe

Heinrich Hoerle, a Rhinelander, is, with George Grosz and Franz W. Seiwert, one of the representatives of German revolutionary art. These revolutionaries are rather propagandists than exponents of beauty; they are regarded not as heralds of a new art, but of new methods of explaining thoughts and ideas.

These revolutionaries have proved by many examples that they are able to paint in the old-school manner, but they turn to the discovery of new forms of expression which they say are applicable to the new times.

German revolutionary artists do not give any explanation with their pictures. They leave it to those who see them to understand what they mean.

The picture given here is Europe. Does it tell you nothing?

What is Europe to-day? A cripple and a prison: let the letter H stand for hunger.

This is simple, but go on thinking: we are only at the beginning. Europe is a cripple, peopled by cripples, cripples of war, of Capitalism, of hunger.

Europe is the most terrible prison governed by hunger: both crippled Europe and the crippled men are near the prison.

Capitalism makes money out of the cripple. See his artificial limbs. They are technical stumps with which he works.

The prison is of value to Capitalism—see its fine expensive stones. If there were no hunger there would be no prisoners and no cripples.

The picture, however, can be explained in another way. The building may be a factory, not a prison: there is little difference. The cripple has no face, because he is not a person; he is merely man power.

Specially designed and cut for the "Workers' Dreadnought" by Heinrich Hoerle.

Trotzki's Statement

"Russian Information and Review," the organ of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, publishes a summary of the statement of Leon Trotzki to Senator King from which we quoted in our issue of October 13th. The summary has somewhat watered down the statement for British consumption. Nevertheless the following significant passages occur in it:

"To the question of Senator King as to the possibility of the intervention of Russia should revolution occur, Trotzki replied, 'Before all and above all we desire peace. We shall not despatch a single Red Army soldier across the boundaries of Soviet Russia unless we are absolutely compelled to do so. . . . Of course, should the German monarchists be victorious, and should they then come to an agreement with the Entente for armed intervention in Russia . . . we should certainly fight and I hope victoriously. . . . In any case we certainly should not intervene in any internal civil war. That is surely but too self-evident. We could only intervene by first making war on Poland. . . . War with Poland would signify a general conflagration which would result in the wiping out from the face of the earth of all the remains of European civilisation."

This last remark is an absurdity Trotzki has borrowed from the upholders of Capitalism. We are surprised that he should have done so.

". . . We have already proposed once, and should America express a wish to support us, we are prepared again to propose the reduction of our army to the minimum necessary to secure internal order. . . .

"You ask where is the guarantee that we shall not later refuse to pay our own debts. . . So long as we desire to maintain trading relations with the rest of the world we are bound in our own interests to carry out our obligations. I can assure you that so long as private property remains in America we shall recognise to the full American investments in Russia.

"Big American firms could accelerate Russia's industrial development and at the same time obtain immense profits for themselves. . . . The Russians are very eager to learn from the Americans the scientific organisation of industry and of labour, and this forms a moral bond between Russia and America. We know that your business circles are still very hesitant, but we have learnt patience in our struggle with Tsarism."

The position is now clear. The Russian Soviet Government is aiming at making of Russia a prosperous capitalist republic. Its home and foreign policy is directed towards that end. Are workers who have long lived under capitalist democracy content with this objective?

WHY?

"Russian Information and Review" says the agreement between the British Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Russian Soviet Government for the exchange of wheat and textiles involves the formation of an Anglo-Russian Wheat Exporting Company, with a capital of £100,000.

Will the Soviet Government explain why the wasteful methods of capitalist finance should be artificially attached to such a simple barter arrangement?

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE "DAILY HERALD."

"The 'Herald' seemed to vacillate between extreme timidity and the boldness of despair, and of late it has sunk into a colourless lassitude and betrays the dullness of habitual starvation."—The New York "Freeman."

TRADE UNION ABSURDITIES.

The "Daily Herald" is raising an outcry because Lord Beaverbrook, having purchased the "Pall Mall Gazette," will merge it in the "Evening Standard."

The "Daily Herald" complains that some workers will lose their jobs.

Better be on the dole than fabricating the dope.

THE OLD MOUNTEBANK.

Mr. Lloyd George in America is predicting the next "war for freedom," in which the British and U.S.A. are to be Allies.

Yet some people fear the growth of Communist thought will bring a revolution.

GERMINAL CIRCLE. GERMINAL CIRCLE.
Prince Henry's Room, 17, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5th.

EXHIBITION

of the works of

EMERICH GONDOR,

The Hungarian Artist, 6—8 p.m. Music and readings of their poems by the authors. 8—10 p.m. During the readings Gondor will illustrate the poems from the platform. Admission free.

"Germinal" No. 3 will

BE ON SALE.

LESSONS FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

In previous lessons we have told of the primitive people who dwelt in the Early Middle and Late Stone Ages. After these periods followed the Ages of Bronze and Iron.

These terms were first introduced by Danish Archæologists and are specially useful for classifying ancient tools and utensils. The use of stone, bronze, and iron tools and utensils overlapped, however, into various periods. More exact classification is that which divides the early periods of human evolution into (1) Savagery, in its Older, Middle and Later stages, (2) Barbarism, in its Older, Middle and Later stages. After these come Ancient Civilisation and later Modern Civilisation, which, of course, are divisible into many periods.

The earliest traces of men and women show them as social beings. Darwin considered mankind to have been descended from some comparatively weak but social species of ape, like the Chimpanzee, rather than from a stronger but unsociable species, like the Gorilla.

Most of the monkey species live a sociable life in great bands, becoming unhappy when solitary and even joining with other species than their own. They fight together and protect each other. A cry of distress uttered by one member of the band brings the others to its aid. They show solicitude for their sick and wounded.

The oldest weapons, tools, and utensils left by primitive man are, as a rule, found together in great numbers. We have described the shell heaps of Denmark—great heaps ten feet high, 100 to 200 feet wide, and 1,000 feet or more in length. These contain nothing but the bones, tools, utensils, weapons, and so on, once thrown there by mankind. During a two-days' stay at Milgaard, in Denmark, Lubbock dug out no fewer than 191 pieces of stone implements.

The primitive tribes of Tierra del Fuego, in the extreme south of South America, accumulate similar shell heaps and undoubtedly live as the ancient tribes of Denmark lived. Their clans number 120 to 150 individuals, and they practise a primitive communism, sharing all they have in common, treating well the old people and preserving the peace.

The most primitive peoples still existing in the world are living either in the glacial or early post-glacial period.

What does that mean? It means that these peoples are living as our primitive ancestors lived during the ice ages when the ice spread from the Polar regions as far as the middle of France, Germany, and Russia, covering Ireland, Scotland and England as far as the Thames, Canada and North America as far as St. Louis and New York.

The people living in the glacial age to-day are those who live in the regions where glacial conditions still prevail, such as the Eskimos in Greenland, arctic America and Northern Siberia. Peoples living in the early post glacial period are to be found in the Southern Hemisphere in Australia, New Guinea, Tierra del Fuego, South Africa. Within the civilised parts of the world where glacial conditions have long disappeared except from the high mountains, people still living under the primitive conditions are to be found in the Himalayas, the highlands of Australasia, and the plateaus of Brazil.

The people in the early post-glacial stage of development all possess similar modes of life and social institutions. They are organised in clans or *gens*. Hence theirs is called *gentile* organisation. All races have at some time lived this sort of life.

Travellers who go amongst such savages report with surprise on their kindness, their generosity, their honesty. Travellers are surprised to find what seems to them a higher moral standard in these respects amongst the savages than amongst civilised peoples.

Why is this?

Because the savages are still living a life of Communism or, at least, have not completely discarded communism.

The Bushmen of South Africa, as first discovered by Europeans, are amongst the most primitive of existing peoples, having no houses and sleeping in holes dug in the soil. When European settlers came to their territory they killed the Bushmen ruthlessly because they said the Bushmen stole their cattle. Three thousand of them were killed in 1808 and 1809 by the Farmers' Alliance.

These poor people, who were poisoned like rats and killed whenever met with, lived in small clans federated together. They hunted in common, divided their spoil without quarrelling. They never abandoned their wounded and displayed strong affection for their comrades. A Bushman nearly drowned in a river was rescued by his comrades, who stripped themselves of their furs to cover him, and lying him before the fire, massaged his body with warm grease till he recovered. Johan van der Walt, a traveller who treated them well, received lavish kindness and affection from them. A European who wished to secure a Bushwoman as slave had only to steal her child: the mother was sure to come to share its captivity. Even the European settlers engaged in exterminating them have called the Bushmen generous, grateful, disinterested, good-hearted and true to their promises.

The Hottentots of South Africa are a little more developed than the Bushmen. When European travellers found them their huts were a few sticks tied together and covered with mats; their dress, a fur suspended from the neck. They kept oxen and cattle, and knew the use of iron. The Bondel Hottentots were recently bombed from aeroplanes by the White Man's Government of South Africa, because they failed to pay the white man's dog tax.

Kolben, a German explorer, writing of the Hottentots in 1731 said that a Hottentot would not eat alone, but called the passers-by to share his food. He added:

> "Their word is sacred. They know nothing of the corruption and faithless arts of Europe." "They live in great tranquility and are seldom at war with their neighbours." They are "all kindness and good will to one another. . . . One of the pleasures of the Hottentots certainly lies in their gifts and good offices to one another." "The integrity of the Hottentots, their strictness and celerity in the exercise of justice, and their chastity, are things in which they excel all or most nations in the world."

Again he wrote:

> "They are certainly the most friendly, the most liberal, and the most benevolent people to one another that ever appeared on the earth."

Kolben wrote thus because he did not know other primitive communist peoples of whom he might have said the same thing.

The Eskimos live in a "long house," the space occupied by each family being partitioned off by pieces of fur. Quarreling is rare. Scolding and unkind words are considered a misdemeanour. Dr. Rink says:

> "Public opinion is the real judgment seat, the general punishment consisting in the offender being shamed in the eyes of the people."

The spoils of hunting and fishing belong to the clan, but some Eskimo tribes have adopted private property under the influence of the Scandinavians. Recognising, however, that the accumulation of private property must destroy tribal unity, the Eskimos periodically distribute amongst their comrades this source of discord. A rich Eskimo will call his clan to a festival and distribute his wealth amongst the members. Some tribes hold an exhibition once a year of what has been acquired by its members during the year, which is then distributed equally.

The North American Indians follow similar practices. Dall, writing in 1870, recorded that he had seen an Aleoute family distributing ten guns, ten wolf fur dresses, 200 strings of beads, numerous blankets, 10 wolf furs, 200 beavers and 200 zebelines. They even took off their own festival dresses and put on old ragged furs, saying that whilst they were now the poorest of their kinsfolk, they had won their friendship.

Veniamoff, a Russian missionary, wrote of the Aleoute Red Indians in 1840:

> "It is considered shameful . . . to show greediness when spoil is divided, in which case everyone gives his own part to the greedy man to shame him . . . being two persons on a hunting expedition, not to offer the best game to the partner."

Carl Bok, writing of the Dayaks of Borneo in 1881, said:

> "As regards morality, I am bound to assign to the Dayaks a high place in the scale of civilisation. . . . Robberies and theft are entirely unknown amongst them. They are also very truthful."

Why should these primitive folk, so low in the scale of civilisation, yet surpass the civilised races, in solidarity, kindness, honesty and integrity?

Simply because they have not lived under the corrupting influence of the private property system.

Unemployed Workers Organisation.

The work and activities of the U.W.O. during the last two or three months is now, as we predicted, beginning to bear fruit.

In Poplar, through the increasing effort of the local branch, holding outdoor propaganda meetings, going on deputations, and demonstrations, we have been quite successful in bringing into prominence that great and intricate problem, unemployment.

At all events, if we have not been successful in getting all the unemployed in the borough organised, we can claim, at least, that the mass of the unemployed and employed locally are aware that there is an organisation in existence which is prepared to do its utmost for the working class as a class. The U.W.O. have been successful in obtaining for the unemployed during the winter months the use of the Town Halls, and one small hall for use every day. This small hall is being utilised in the best possible way by the unemployed. There is plenty of literature available for use, a comfortable fire, and always a good discussion circle.

Bow and Bromley Branch is still the same strong branch and still claims the greatest membership, in spite of the fact that they are being continuously attacked by the local Labour Party.

Millwall branch, after a short period of depression during the summer months, is beginning to mould itself into a strong, virile fighting branch, and with the assistance of the Area Council we believe before long this local branch will become a powerful asset to the U.W.O.

Edmonton unemployed as a whole will begin from to-day to benefit from the untiring actions of the organised unemployed of that district.

The organised unemployed went in a mass demonstration to the local Board of Guardians to demand an increase in their relief. After some discussion, the demonstrators were notified that their relief would be increased by one shilling per head, to come into operation immediately. While the U.W.O. is prepared to accept these concessions and palliatives we must point out that an increase in relief is not the height of our ambition or our objective. The policy of the U.W.O. is for the complete overthrow of this wretched system of society and the establishment of a society wherein all will receive plenty because there is plenty for all. Nevertheless, this does not prevent us accepting or trying to obtain the best possible conditions allowed by this awful society.

In spite of the baton charge and the vicious lying attacks by various working-class parties, the U.W.O. is still as strong as ever. When we examine the results of our efforts during the past two or three months we find evidence which proves conclusively to our satisfaction that our work has not been in vain.

J. T. BELLAMY,
Area Organiser, U.W.O.

A Labourer

By TOM ANDERSON.

(Proletarian Schools.)

He was a labourer and he worked in Dixon's Iron Works, Glasgow. It is known as Dixon's blazes, owing to the fact that at night the huge volumes of flames that issue from the furnaces light up all the vicinity, and so all the children of the south side of our city know Dixon's blazes. It is part of their being which is being stored up for them when their brain is young and plastic. Dixon's blazes will live with them through their lives.

The labourers at Dixon's are paid 37s. 6d. per week just now for carrying pig iron. Carrying pig-iron is a brutal job calling for superhuman strength; you must be a real labourer before you are able to carry pig-iron, and the wages are 37s. 6d. per week.

These labourers are men of brawn, men of the underworld who are not touched by your Trade Congress meetings; they scarcely, if ever, hear of your official Labour Party; they are a class by themselves—labourers. It is a great curse to be a labourer. Your subsistence rate is so small that you can never stand your wife and family anything; you are a social outcast, living on the scraps which the better-paid workers refuse to buy. And these labourers are nearly all very religious: if you happen to be out early on Sunday morning, you will see them wending their way to early Mass.

After Mass you will find many of them coming to our meeting on Glasgow Green, where they hear of the labourer and his lot. Strange, it seems to them the message of human equality of which the Proletarian speaker tells them. Their priest has warned them against the revolutionary, but even with all the warning, they still come, and I have seen them stand with bared heads as we sang Conolly's rebel song. Religion has a great power, but the growing trend of reason will slowly, but surely, make it give way to a grander conception of human life, and it is from this very reason that the carriers of pig-iron come to our meetings.

It was Sunday; one of the carriers of pig-iron was walking along the banks of the Clyde (the Clyde runs through Glasgow Green), when the shout rang out: "A woman in the water."

The labourer rushed to the spot, threw off his well-worn jacket and vest, and plumped into the muddy water. He reached the woman and, securing her between his hands, he brought her out. She was a good-looking young woman of the working class, poorly clad. The labourer looked at her, and in pity he said, "Why did you do that my lass?"

The girl looked at him and said, "I did not want to become a prostitute."

"Holy Jesus," he said. "Who was going to make you a prostitute?"

She replied, "Poverty."

The labourer looked at her hard, and then he said: "I carry pig-iron for 37s. 6d. per week, and if you are willing I am prepared to mate with you."

The girl gave him her hand. Then the two of them walked away.

I said to myself as I watched them move off: "That proletarian is greater than 'our Saviour.' He is only a carrier of pig-iron at 37s. 6d. per week, and he goes to early Mass, and then comes to the Proletarian School at noon."

CORRESPONDENCE.

WAS THE CHIEF CONSTABLE HIT?

Thomas McGregor, of 10, Grace Drive, South Govan, writes:—

"I should like to say in reference to Gallacher that he was struck down at the Gladstone Statue before he could get off his mark, and his story about hitting the chief constable is pure rot."

[We have received a number of letters regarding the Poplar batoning and the attacks on the U.W.O. and certain of its members. Since these letters all support the view which we ourselves have expressed, we are pleased to receive these letters, but think it unnecessary to publish them.—Editor, "Workers' Dreadnought."]

Capitalism v. Communism

Capitalism—How it Grows.

Between 1882 and 1906 the U.S.A. Standard Oil Trust made 714 million dollars profit.

On May 11th, 1911, Standard Oil stock was valued at 98 million dollars. The United States then ordered its dissolution into a number of constituent properties under the anti-trust law. This was a mere pretence to please the public. The combine remained.

In 1921 the stock of the Standard Oil Properties was valued at 3,276 million dollars, more than 35 times what it had been ten years before. Meanwhile the companies had paid out 1,833 million dollars' value in dividends, more than 18 times the value of the entire stock as it existed ten years before.

Need we wonder that the many are poor when the few thus milk the wealth secured by productive labour?

Communism—How it would Grow.

Kropotkin, in his Appendix to "The Conquest of Bread," gives the following estimates, tested by comparison with actual production in the areas named and in others, of what might be done to live in abundance by the inhabitants of two French Departments, living under a state of Communism without money or trade, if half the adult population were agriculturally employed.

DEPARTMENTS OF SEINE AND SEINE-ET-OISE.

Number of inhabitants in 1889 ...	3,900,000
Area in acres	1,507,300
Average number of inhabitants per acre	2.6
Areas to be cultivated to feed the inhabitants (in acres):	
Corn and cereals	494,000
Natural and artificial meadows ...	494,000
Vegetables and fruit ... From	17,300 to 25,000
Leaving a balance for houses, roads, parks, forests	494,000
Quantity of annual work necessary to improve and cultivate the above surfaces in five-hour work days:	
Cereals (culture and crop)	15,000,000
Meadows, milk, rearing of cattle	10,000,000
Market gardening, culture, high-class fruit	33,000,000
Extras	12,000,000
Total	70,000,000

If we suppose that only half the able-bodied adults (men and women) are willing to work at agriculture, we see that seventy million work-days must be divided among 1,200,000 individuals, which gives us 58 work-days of 5 hours, for each of these workers. With that the population of the two departments would have all necessary bread, meat, milk, vegetables and fruit, both for ordinary and even luxurious consumption. To-day a workman spends for the necessary food of his family (generally less than what is necessary), at least one-third of his 300 work-days a year, about 1,000 hours be it, instead of 290. That is, he thus gives about 700 hours too much to fatten the idle and the would-be administrator, because he does not produce his own food, but buys it of middlemen, who in their turn buy it of peasants, who exhaust themselves by working with bad tools, because, being robbed by the landowners and the State, they cannot procure better.

IMPORTANT!

We urgently suggest that comrades should endeavour to secure new subscribers to the "Workers' Dreadnought" and that they should collect at meetings and from their friends whatever is possible. However small the sum you can collect, it will be welcomed. Send it in stamps or postal orders. The "Dreadnought" is not self-supporting: the editing and managing is unpaid.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS

OIL AND THE GERMS OF WAR. By Scott Nearing (Nellie Seeds Nearing). Paper 10 cents, cloth 60 cents.

The motto of this book is a quotation from Briand: "International politics to-day are oil politics." To us it seems that iron bulks more largely than oil, in Europe at least, at this juncture, but we are not disposed to ignore the importance of oil nevertheless.

The book follows the same lines as that of "Oil" by the Frenchman De laisi, but, written by an American, it naturally gives more details regarding the American oil magnates and their business. It is a much smaller book, and therefore more of a summary.

Mr. Nearing's solution is a world federation of producers. He says: "The race depends to-day on the engineer." That is one of those misleading slogans that come of superficial thinking. We will not retort by saying "The race depends on the agriculturist," because man does not live by bread alone.

The book is very dry, but contains useful facts.

CHRISTIANITY OR MATERIALISM. By Alf. Wilson. Australian Labour News Publishing Bureau. 3d.

The author aptly quotes a little-known poem of Keats:

The church bells toll a melancholy sound,
Calling the people to some other prayers,
Some other gloominess, more dreadful cares,
More hearkening to the sermon's horrid sound.
Surely the mind of man is closely bound
In some black spell; seeing that each one tears
Himself from fireside joys, and Lydian airs,
And converse high of those with glory crowned.
Still, still they toll, and I should feel a damp—
A chill as from a tomb, did I not know
That they are dying like an outburnt lamp;
That 'tis their sighing, wailing ere they go
Into oblivion—that fresh flowers will grow,
And many glories of immortal stamp.

From the Fourth International

AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

It is already a long time since comrades began working in Austria for a revolutionary workshop organisation and a Communist Workers' Party, which must not be confused with the C.P. As everywhere, the C.P., fully supported by the Moscow International, has ruined the real revolutionary movement in Austria also, reducing it to a quagmire of paid leaders and a branch of the Russian-National-Capitalist foreign politics.

Now the Austrian comrades have succeeded in forming a solid Communist Workers' Group, which will lay the foundation for a C.W.P.

The Austrian comrades believe that the liberation of the proletariat is only possible by means of the destruction of all Parliamentary workers' parties and trade unions. The latter only exist to beg for something for their members, so that they may silently and passively endure the exploitation of Capitalism.

Capitalism is in the death-throes of its breakdown in full, and the proletariat must build itself real revolutionary class-organisations.

Reformism means maintaining Capitalism. The C.P., S.P. and all such parties are reformist, and therefore capitalistic.

The C.W.P. and A.A.U. refuse any reformism, and are real proletarian class-conscious organisations.

RATIONAL LIVING.

A radical, independent magazine for the workers, devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living in present society, always emphasising the social-economical-industrial background of wrong living. Stands for prevention of disease, for conservation of health, for drugless healing, and against all swindles in the healing professions. Special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6 for 12 numbers). Our famous book, "The Child and the Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical upbringing of children, special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6). Address: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

WE BELIEVE that the hunger strike of the 8,000 Irish internees will undoubtedly result in their release. The Free State Government will not dare to risk the opprobrium which would fall on it were the hunger strikers to be left to die. That there are 8,000 internees, and that 8,000 internees are prepared to hunger strike, is proof that the Republican movement is very strong in Ireland and that it will win through.

Eight Thousand Internees on Hunger Strike

That is the spirit we want to see in the Communist movement: a spirit that will dare and do and achieve; caring nothing for present ease, but dashing forward all hopefully and enthusiastically to the goal.

* * *

THE IRISH REPUBLICANS have appealed for a general strike to secure the release of Republican prisoners. Mr. Jim Larkin has replied by asking who is to support the women and children should a strike take place.

Jim Larkin and the General Strike

Our question would be otherwise; our question would be: How far will a General Strike serve the cause of the workers' emancipation. Our anxiety would not be merely for the sustenance of the workers *during* the strike, but their permanent sustenance and status.

If the Irish workers undertake a general strike we should like the objective of the strike to be liberation, not merely from an Empire, but from the capitalist system.

Mr. Larkin says the machinery is not ready for a general strike. Perhaps not; but might not the general strike be just the means of perfecting the existing machinery. The Irish workers have already achieved much in militant solidarity. We should like to see them attempt the general strike. We feel certain they can accomplish it, provided they desire the object the strike sets out to achieve. Workers who believe in the Free State cannot be counted on in a Republican strike; that is self-evident.

As to a greater objective: the Workers' Councils. That is not merely a question of striking: not merely abstention that necessitates constructive action.

Are the Irish workers ready for that?

What sort of propaganda is being done with that objective?

We believe that steady educational work for a republic of Workers' Councils and the abolition of Capitalism in Ireland would soon bear fruit. What then? Would Britain crush the movement? The answer to that question is another: Will you and your fellow-workers allow such a thing to happen?

* * *

GERMANY is a land of secrets. Behind the tumult and disaster the monarchists, like careful chess players, are working to secure the various points of vantage in order to strike for a reactionary monarchist dictatorship when the opportune moment arrives.

The German Situation

The great industrial capitalists are playing their game for present and future profits. The lesser officials are playing to keep their places. As the intrigues develop and the value of German money rushes ever downward, starving people, the victims of this hideous nightmare of capitalist madness, continue their hunt for food. The price of bread the other day was raised from 2½ milliards to 5. On the eve of the increase the bakers' shops were closed all day; the bakers were waiting to sell at enhanced prices and the people, maddened by hunger, began to plunder. This is the capitalist system we tolerate!

* *

THE BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT defies the Berlin Central Government. When the head of the Central Government's forces in Bavaria disobeyed the Central Government and the Central Government replaced him, the Bavarian Government took the offender under its own wing and made the Central Government's forces its own forces, administering to them an oath of loyalty to Bavaria. The Central Government in Berlin takes no action against Bavaria because even the members of the Government prefer Bavarian reaction to the proletarian movements, and because the heads of the armed forces behind the Central Government are in hearty sympathy with the Bavarian reactionaries, and are only biding their time to establish a similar Government in Berlin should the Berlin Government dare to act in conflict with the wishes of the reactionary military officers.

Bavaria

* *

THE COALITION GOVERNMENTS of Social Democrats and Third International Communists in Saxony and Thuringia are waiting to be attacked by the White Terror. They endeavour to maintain things as they are, or at least to make no great changes, drifting with the tide of events; but to remain stationary is impossible in the German whirlpool; either one must move or be swept aside. The Socialist Parliamentarians can expect no support from the Berlin Government, in spite of their loyalty towards it. The Saxon Government relies for protection against the monarchist reactionaries upon the proletarian armed forces. The Berlin Government, which does not interfere with Bavaria, has ordered the suppression of Saxony's proletarian guards, and should the Saxon Government persist in its refusal to disband them, the Berlin Government may send national troops, officered by frank reactionaries, to make war on Saxony—this if the Berlin Government's own stability should admit of such adventures, and if and when the reaction should demand it.

Saxony and Thuringia

* *

SAXONY cannot count at all firmly upon any assistance from the Trade Unions of Germany, however wantonly she may be attacked. It is true that the Trade Union Congress, meeting in Berlin on October 17th, passed a resolution advocating a general strike in case of armed action against the Governments of Saxony and Thuringia, but the resolution was only adopted after much opposition. Moreover, the Trade Union Leaders of Germany are as expert in making dead letters of resolutions as are the Trade Union Leaders of this country; they are as infirm of purpose as their British contemporaries, which is saying much, and just as Daragona and his Trade Union colleagues in Italy have come to a working agreement with Fascism, they will make any compromise with reaction that will ensure them a quiet life. That has been proved to the hilt times out of number, in Germany of all countries. Trade Unionism exists to get the best terms for the worker under existing conditions, not to change the conditions; so say its officials when driven into a corner. Only in the rank and file workshop movement is there hope of a movement that will vanquish the terror of the reaction.

What will Berlin Social Democrat and Trade Union Leaders Do?

SOVIET RUSSIA'S PROMISE to world Capitalism not to help the German workers' revolution may well give pause to any who count the cost and desire to live to a ripe old age; for what has proletarian Germany to face? Armed reaction at home, armed reaction in all the capitalist countries, cold neutrality from Soviet Russia, in whose active aid it has been told to trust. Moreover, the Third International Communists in Germany itself, who lately boasted of being standard-bearers of Communism, are hanging back with the story that the time is not ripe for Communism, and that capitalist trade with Russia affords a more serviceable escape from starvation for the world's hungry proletariat.

The Russian Statement

Nevertheless the force of circumstances may swing all the cautious ones off their feet and send them following in pursuit of the uprisen masses, whom hunger, suspense, and disgust of the old-world ways may have driven into overwhelming revolt.

Then will the cautious ones endeavour to leap on to the flying charger of revolution to cling to his mane till his speed slackens, in the hope that his mouth be ready to accept their bit.

May it not happen so.

* *

SO THE RHINELAND REPUBLIC is proclaimed. The articles of our German correspondent are timely in this respect, and reveal aspects of the question not generally seen in this country. The British capitalist press supports a centralised Germany as a counter-balance to France; whilst French Capitalism desires a dismembered Germany.

The Rhineland

Nowhere are secret intrigues more rife than in the Rhineland to-day; nowhere is the struggle for gain and for personal safety more active.

There are several parties of Rhineland Separatists. Apart from the Workshop Communists and Anarchists who desire separation for other reasons, there are the Separatists who desire an independent Rhineland, and the Separatists who desire a Rhineland which shall be virtually part of France.

On October 18th, several days before the proclamation of the Rhineland Republic, the chief organ of Westphalian heavy industry, "Deutsche Bergwerksi-zeitung," published an article from "a special source—Berlin." To this article great prominence was given, though such ostentatiously patriotic organs as the "Bergwerksi-Zeitung" have not before opened their columns to the expression of such views.

This article says that since the Berlin Government has left the Ruhr and Rhine local authorities to make what agreements they can with the French, and has notified that it cannot finance the result of such agreements, many well-informed persons believe that the occupied territory must soon be provided with its own separate currency. This, it is argued, will sever its connections with the rest of Germany more effectually than anything else. In assenting to this the Reich would be meeting France's desire to exploit the "pledges" she has seized, whilst the rest of Germany would be liberated from all reparation obligations.

This comes as a striking vindication of the contention that Herr Stinnes and the other great Ruhr—Rhine industrialists are working to bring their territories under the dominion of France.

* *

THE IGNOMINIOUS SPECTACLE of the panel doctors and the Government wrangling over a capitation fee cut of a shilling or eighteenpence should cause to think those State Socialists—or as we should call them advocates of State Capitalism—who cannot accustom themselves to the idea of abolishing the wages system.

Panel Doctors' Strike

The unfortunate persons who will be deprived of medical attention during the panel doctors' strike, should it materialise, will many of them turn their minds again to conservatism from sheer lack of knowledge that anything more advanced than State Socialism has ever been conceived.

Letters from Germany

HOW PRUSSIA BROKE DOWN THE RHINELANDERS.

As soon as the Congress of Vienna had given the Rhineland to Prussia it was at once blessed with numberless Prussian troops. Coming from their own hungry provinces, they overran this rich, flourishing country like locusts. As a reward for boarding these foreign men, who looked like Tartars in the eyes of the cultivated Rhinelanders, the Rhineland people were conscripted and sent as soldiers to the most easterly provinces of Prussia. The unfortunate Rhineland youngsters felt there as though they were buried alive. All was strange to them: people, language, manners—all was alien to these free-born men. The brutal officers and corporals were accustomed to perpetrate hideous cruelties upon their subordinates who were like slaves in their hands.

When the Prussian king visited Cologne or Duesseldorf to see his faithful people, who were told he was an affable father to them, he was very often greeted with hisses or found only silent and deserted streets. Such a state of affairs had never been heard of in Prussia. For this reason the Prussian kings were rare birds in Rhineland. The last Kaiser was an exception, for he mistook silly flatteries for genuine esteem.

Rhineland was robbed by the Prussians in a terrible manner, the Rhinelanders paying the highest duty of all Prussian subjects.

Always in trade communication with her neighbours, Belgium and Holland, the Rhineland became, however, the most flourishing province of Prussia. What was the result? Only that the Rhineland had to pay for railways in the Eastern provinces in order that the big estates of the Prussian Junkers should be made ten times more valuable and should strengthen the strategic position of Germany against Russia.

Yet all the important and even the lesser official positions in the Rhineland were held by Prussians from Posen, East and West Prussia, Silesia, Pommerania; whilst any Rhinelander who became an official was sent to the East. Thus within the last hundred years was the Rhineland Prussianised.

The Struggle for Freedom.

From 1815 when the Rhineland became a Prussian province until the year 1848, there was a constant fight between the new masters and the Rhinelanders. The Prussians were unable to keep these "rebels" quiet. The Rhinelanders called the Prussians "Pomuchels kopp," or, for short, "Pomucki." "He is a Prussian," even in our days in the Rhineland sounds as opprobrious as the epithet "he is a dirty Jew" in other countries.

When in 1848 the revolution broke out in Germany, the Rhinelanders at once took arms to fight the Prussians.

When the war of 1870 broke out between Prussia and France, there was but one desire in Rhineland: Prussia shall suffer a total defeat. The Prussian General Staff was very careful in its use of Rhenish troops. Against France they were absolutely unreliable.

After France was beaten and Prussia saw no more danger of losing the Rhineland from that quarter, terrorism was let loose in the Rhineland. This terror was called "Kulturkampf," which means: a fight for culture. A good word, it had two meanings. On the side of the Prussian Government it meant terror and cruelty; on the side of the Rhinelanders it meant the fight for freedom of opinion. The Prussians directed the fight against the clergy because they supported the freedom of the Rhineland.

The result of this was the establishment of the Centre Party, which governed the German Parliament for many decades.

When the great war broke out, many Rhinelanders hoped, as they did in 1870, that France would win. This time their desire was realised; but they found themselves forgotten by the Treaty of Versailles. Worse still, they had to pay the debts of Prussia, to suffer the burden of occupation, and to bear all the disadvantages and inconveniences of a beaten nation.

The Fight of the Rhinelanders.

The Rhineland does not desire to be the sacrificial victim for all what the war has caused. They wish the Rhineland to become at last a country belonging to its own natives. They refuse to pay for the mistakes of other people.

As soon as the Entente troops had occupied Rhineland, its natives started the fight for their freedom and independence. The Prussians discredited this movement as paid for by the French. "Paid by the Entente" was the means used during the war to suppress the anti-war movement. The result was that the people, always credulous of what is said by the Government, became confused.

But the independence movement was too genuine, too deeply rooted in the minds of the people, to be stopped thus. From all parts there sprang up men who believed in the independence of the country.

Two papers—one daily and one weekly—were founded, and dared to advocate independence. The Rhenish people awakened. For a hundred years they were never allowed to think of independence. Even the mention of independence had meant a prosecution for high treason and had cost ten years' imprisonment or more.

Now that the foreign armies of occupation had broken the power of Prussia in the Rhineland, the independence movement showed fight; but the Prussians had more practice, more money and more power. Remember that all the judges, all the policemen, all the Trade Union leaders, all the Party leaders were Prussians. All these men, especially the Social Democrats and the Trade Union leaders, supported India, Ireland and Egypt in their struggles for independence. But, hypocrites as they are in all things, when a country held down by Prussia began to fight for independence, then they said: "What a stupidity! What a crime! This question can be settled only when the foreign troops have left the country."

When the Allies have left the Rhineland no man will demand any longer an independent Rhineland Republic, for whoever tries to do so will be sentenced to death or imprisoned for life.

How the Prussians Parry the Fight.

The Prussians neither parry the independence movement with arms, nor with prosecutions for high treason. They can only use the latter if a Separatist is caught in the unoccupied territory.

In Rhineland they work only with lies, with malicious aspersions, with disturbing the independence meetings and with assassinations.

They declare that half the members of the Smeets independence party are shady persons, ex-gaol birds, and so on, and the other half individuals merely out for their personal gain.

It is true there are shady persons in the independence parties, but the Prussians put them there. They are Prussian police agents, men paid for joining the party. One of these police agents was for two years private secretary to Herr Smeets, the leader of the party. He wrote articles for the Separatist paper and at the same time took the secret correspondence of Smeets to the Prussian agents. He spoke in meetings and the next day he sold the party membership lists to the "Rhineland Correspondence," a paper wholly sustained by the Prussian Government. Korff was the pen-name of this shady person.

Also there have been ex-gaol birds in the party. Such an ex-gaol bird it was who murdered the secretary of the Separatist party, Herr Kaiser, and shot at the president of the party, Smeets, several times, and ended in wounding him seriously. It was easy to catch this ex-gaol bird, but when he left the house after that cruel deed and the wife of the president called from her door to the agent of the secret police standing outside to ask for his arrest, the police laughed at her protests, and let the ex-gaol bird escape. He was never caught, though a reward of a million marks was offered to whitewash the Prussian Government Five days before a Prussian paper at Cologne wrote: It is high time Herr Smeets was put out of the way.

The ex-gaol bird had been a member of the party in order to spy out the best chance for murdering the members of the committee.

It is said that Smeets is an ex-Independent Socialist, too. With Smeets it is a crime to be an ex-Independent Socialist, with Hilferding it is an honour.

Smeets is said to be a man of no standing and no education. Smeets has a standing: he is a skilled cabinet-maker. Is that a crime? Surely not, for another cabinet-maker has been minister in Germany. He was, of course, not a Separatist and not a Rhinelander.

Herr Smeets, so we are told, has no education. Maybe. Opinions differ in regard to what is education and what is not: but I know another man who has no education, and this man for years has been president of Germany. His name is Fritz Ebert.

He is, of course, not a Separatist and not a Rhinelander, but for thirty years he has been a restaurant proprietor, an occupation which in Germany seemed to be more important than that of a cabinet-maker.

I have had sent to me from England some of the bulletins of the Ruhr Information Bureau, and I find there an echo of the propaganda which appears in the Prussian papers.

I am convinced that I know the sources of the Ruhr Information better than the hon. officers of the Bureau.

The Prussian Government is not so stupid as to work in such a way that everyone can see it pulling the strings. The Government organised an institution called "Heimatdienst." This means: service in favour of the country. The "Heimatdienst" is the most corrupt institution Prussia has ever known. It is an organisation of murderers, robbers, liars, forgers, incendiaries. There is no conceivable crime that the "Heimatdienst" would fear to commit if it were paid for. And the Government pays for handsomely and protects every crime against the Separatists. The Ruhr information tells us: "Half the Separatists are individuals merely out for their personal gain." Who told the Ruhr Information this? Why, the "Heimatdienst," which thinks other men are as corrupt as itself.

As to this "personal gain," I shall give one of many hundred examples. In the year 1920 a Cologne citizen, a member of a very old Cologne family, invested his whole fortune in making and producing a film about his native town, entitled: "Qui non videt Coloniam non videt Germaniam" (Who has not seen Cologne has not seen Germany).

The title alone was already a crime, for the duty of a good Prussian is to call Potsdam the most famous town.

But that citizen committed another terrible crime. He said in that film: The Colognians have not become good Prussians within the last hundred years.

What was the result of that crime? At once the Prussian police came to the office of this man, confiscated not only that valuable film, but all the other films found in his possession. His firm was de-registered by legal process, and his work entirely destroyed. He was brought into court and charged with high treason. For expressing his opinion he was punished with fourteen months imprisonment or two thousand gold marks fine. A Prussian police officer had to swear three times a false oath to get that accused Rhinelander punished.

But the R.I. tells us the members of the Separatists join the party for their personal gain. On the contrary, a business man who joins the Separatists is boycotted at once and the police treat him in such a manner that he is oftener to be found in court than in his shop.

The Separatists are not able to hold meetings. If they risk a meeting it will be finished before it started because of the disturbances of the Nationalists, the Socialists, and Third International Communists. In Prussia the Communists are more Nationalist than the Monarchists. The papers in Moscow command them to be so, and so they are. They have been taught under the capitalist rule of Prussia to obey without question.

Now that the Prussian Communists have no Prussian Kaiser to obey, they have made themselves another in Moscow.

A Review of the Struggles of the Catering Trade Employees

By W. McCARTNEY

(Late Vice-President, United Catering Trade Union.)

I.—"THE HOTEL AGENT."

For many years past, the West End of London has been honeycombed with bogus "unions," and by establishments calling themselves by various names, claiming to find work for applicants on payment of a "fee," and in a great number of instances charging also a "booking fee" from 2s. 6d. to 5s.

Once the 2s. 6d. or 5s. is paid as booking fee you have to wait until there is nobody with more money than you, then you can have the job for what you are willing to pay on account—the balance to be paid out of the first week's wages.

Fees for jobs are insisted upon before the address of the job is given to the applicant. On payment the applicant receives a letter in the following style:—

Sir/Madam,

We have examined the references of bearer for the position of . . . . , hoping that he [she] will meet with your approval.

Trusting you will favour us with your future "orders," we remain,

Yours truly,

. . . . . .

Needless to add, the employer pays nothing; it is only the unemployed worker who is bled. All that is needed in the agency business is two little rooms, one as office, the other as "waiting"-room, a telephone, a table, a few chairs, a bit of stationery, a railway time-table and—there you are: a full-blown Hotel and Restaurant Agent. We must not forget the post office directory, also the telephone directory.

The agent then begins "work" by canvassing the managers of hotels, restaurants and clubs, for orders to supply them with any staff they may be in need of. Cases are known in which chefs, head waiters and managers have been in conspiracy with the hotel agent. This is how they work it. The unemployed catering worker applies to the agent for a job. This is how it goes:

Hotel Agent: Next, please (calling into waiting-room).

Applicant enters.

Agent: Good morning.

Applicant: Good morning.

Agent: Are you on the books?

Applicant: No.

Agent: You must be registered before I can send you after a "berth": the fee is 2s. 6d.

Applicant: If I pay this 2s. 6d. do I go after this job?

Agent: Certainly not. My fee for the berth is 15s. The wages run to anything around 25s. to 40s.

Applicant: But I have not got 15s. and the 2s. 6d. as well.

Agent: Please pay booking fee, 2s. 6d.

The Applicant pays.

Agent (after giving receipt for 2s. 6d.): How much have you got?

Applicant: Seven-and-sixpence.

Agent: Will you sign this paper that you are willing to pay balance of 7s. 6d. out of your first week's wages.

Applicant: Yes (pays up, receives a receipt) for 7s. 6d. marked "received on account." At the bottom of this receipt is the notice: "On no account are fees returnable after engagement. Please note this." The applicant is then given a letter of "introduction," as given above, containing also a card for the manager to sign, "engaged" or "not engaged").

If the vacancy has not been filled, the card is marked "engaged." The applicant takes it back to the agent, who smiles and says: "Do not forget to pay the balance."

After a week or two the newly-engaged victim is being found fault with, bullied, and finally discharged. The agent has got 2s. 6d. and 7s. 6d. of the applicant's savings. The manager has got 7s. 6d. out of the first week's wages, and the applicant is walking the stones—still willing to be fleeced by these sharps, because he does not YET KNOW the game.

To make sure of at least one applicant's fee, the agent sends four or six, or even more applicants after the same job, which may be miles from the agent's office, so the unsuccessful applicant has spent uselessly out of his little savings anything from 4d. to 1s. in tube or 'bus fares. He is filled with a bitter disappointment, and weariness of mind and body. Probably he has no more money to spare for 'bus fares. He walks home, and awaits the coming morning, when hope again gives him strength to re-visit the agent. Again the process is repeated—again the bitter disappointment; it may go on for months, even years: he does not know. While the agent, utterly callous, concerned only with fees, carries on the game. If he cannot get enough applicants to his office he advertises in the "Daily Telegraph" somewhat after this style:

"WAITERS. — Waiters, waitresses, cooks (male and female), chambermaids, hall porters and all kitchen and hotel staff. Hundreds of vacancies in best-class hotel sand clubs waiting. Busy time. Call early. Low fees.—. . . . . , Agents."

When you call your salute is "Nothing new to-day."

What they want are applicants with more money than you—some more "booking fees." You are an old applicant, nearly sucked dry—so what is the good of you?

Then up comes the newly out-of-work catering worker, nicely dressed, probably with watch, rings, gold necklace, etc., etc.

"Ah, now we are all right again," murmurs the agent to himself. And that is how the game goes on.

The time comes when these once newly out-of-works become almost useless to the agent, so the advertising process is resorted to once again.

Here is another fact. If the agent has not got many jobs going, and plenty of applicants calling, he reads the "Telegraph" column of hotel servants and bar assistants vacancies, and charges them for a job which he has picked out of this paper, and sends the applicant after this job, which he could have gone after free of charge. Sometimes this method is successful. The applicant, having a letter to the manager, does not line up with the newspaper applicants, because the manager does not know until he reads it who it is from, or what it is about: but sometimes the applicant is told he must take his chance with the rest and wait his turn. Probably an hour is wasted waiting to be interviewed. If the interview proves a failure, he races back to the agent to get back his fee and express his opinion to the agent. The agent generally swears that the manager 'phoned up asking him if he could send along a good waiter, porter, etc., as the case may be.

I have seen fights between applicants treated like this and the agent. Police have been called and the applicant charged with assault. To such agents does the L.C.C. give a licence. That licence gives permission to obtain an easy and comfortable living, with no great outlay of capital, and no risk of financial failure, because there are always plenty of out-of-work victims waiting to be fleeced. Were this not so, there would not be the dozens and dozens of such agents that are found all over the West End of London, some having great palatial establishments. Occasionally an agent becomes so barefaced in his roguery and swindling that he is imprisoned, fined, or, if a foreigner, deported.

A clever trick of the bogus "unions" having branches in this country, and headquarters on the Continent, has been to paint for the young men, women, boys and girls of France, Germany and Italy, highly-coloured pictures of the splendid wages and conditions which it was said can be obtained in the catering trade of this country by those who would first learn the English language. They were told that if they worked hard, and were civil, obliging, and willing to start at a small wage, their wages would soon be increased, their services always sought after, and finally they could rise to be chefs or managers, make a fortune, retire from business, and return to their native country to live in ease and luxury. Such was the tale. It worked. They came. About what they found I shall have something to say in the next issue.

(To be continued.)

Thoughts of an Ancient Dame

By ELIZABETH HARRIS.

As feathers to an arrow's flight,
A surer course impart,
So truth when winged by fancy light
May sooner reach the heart.

Will it serve to amuse, and beguile the time of a dreary October day, if for awhile I reproduce the wandering thoughts of an ancient dame on social subjects past and present?

She started with the pains of the rheumatic, and *household* worries, like smoking chimneys, etc., and asked me if I thought the careworn master-man, or workman, who sweep our chimneys nowadays are any better off than they used to be in happier times, when she used to see them on their annual holidays, on the First of May, when they went with Black Sal and Dusty Bob, dancing round Jack in the Green. Alas they never seem to have time now for a reasonable holiday, too tired out for anything but horse racing, a boxing match or the football game.

By sports like these are all their cares beguiled,
The sports of children satisfy the child;
Each nobler aim repress'd by long control,
Now sinks at last, or feebly mans the soul;
While low delights, succeeding fast behind,
In happier meanness occupy the mind.
—*Goldsmith.*

From chimney sweepers the good lady's memory took her back to the Scottish chieftains, and another active lady, known as Black Agnes, who was always ready, with her followers to maintain her position, against the so-called rights of a certain Scottish lord, who in those far distant times was obliged to fight personally in a dispute, and was always defeated.

Came he early, or came he late,
He found Black Agnes at the gate.

It is different now when big business bosses can combine with crafty statesmen, and use the obsolete laws of past generations to maintain their rights to own and control the wealth produced by the workers. Labour leaders tell us that when they form a Government they will not permit police and soldiers to be used in a Labour dispute. The controlling authority on the Poplar Board of Guardians are all, except two, Labour Members, yet they called in the police to baton the unemployed. What assurance can we have if Labour was to govern the whole country they would act differently?

Would there be peace and harmony in a Labour dispute, with pickets like Black Agnes and her followers waiting at the gate, for greedy employers, and blacklegs, and no brutal police to protect them?

Thoughtful observers of the past progress of mankind tell us we do not require any Government at all; we could by mutual agreements amongst ourselves supply all our own requirements as a Co-operative Commonwealth. Then we should be truly free, and Father Time, with all his past experience, is steadily leading us weary pilgrims on life's highway in that direction.

News from Bulgaria

A Bulgarian comrade writes:—

"For some time past Bulgarian Capitalism has wished to declare Communist Parties to be illegal, in order to crush the rapidly-growing Communist movement.

"The Parliamentary Communists had a great success in the elections. The capitalists reversed the result of the elections by force and then suppressed the Communist papers. A little later they imprisoned all the Communist leaders.

"After the fall of the Stambuliski Ministry, his successors placed on trial 93 Communists in Plevna, 38 at Gabrovo, 175 at Carlovo and others elsewhere; because whilst the Stambulisky and National parties were fighting, the Communists also had tried to seize the power. Ten Communists were condemned to death, thirty to various penalties, including perpetual forced labour and imprisonment of from ten to twenty years. Seven lawyers who are members of the Communist Party appeared before the Court to defend their comrades, but were put in prison. This is bourgeois democracy!

"Mass meetings of protest were held, but the police dispersed them with firearms and many people were killed and wounded. Wholesale arrests followed, first in the towns and then in the rural districts, where all Communists were arrested, the Social Democrats helping to spy them out. This traitorous assistance to the reaction followed closely upon the appeal of the Third International Communists for a united front. This was rejected by the Social Democrats, who supported the Government in return for some Ministerial posts.

"A united front against the Government grew up, however, amongst the poor land workers, who, seeing themselves menaced by the White Terror, were obliged to take arms to protect themselves. Nevertheless, because the fight had begun inopportunely and without strategic plan, the Government easily crushed the workers with the help of the well-equipped Fascist troops, which had long been preparing for civil war.

"At Kazanlik, in the Valley of Roses, the Fascist troops chased all the male population from home, and those who were known as Communists were murdered in the open street by bayonet thrusts. About 400 men were thus stabbed to death.

"The inhabitants of the village of Dalboki in the district of Stara Zagora had been Communist for several years. The communal elections always yielded a Communist majority. Here all the people were driven from their homes and the village entirely destroyed by artillery.

"In the village of Madara, in Chouala district, the Communist Party for several years had a majority on the local council. All the men who were in the village when the Fascist troops arrived (i.e., half the male population) were massacred by the sabres of the cavalry.

"At Kilifaro (Tirnovo) the population was wholly Communist. The entire population was driven from home, half being cast into prison and the others chased away from the place.

"At Varna, all the members of the Communist Party were arrested, and their club was turned into a stable. The imprisoned Communists are subjected to torture. Six hundred of them are beaten five times during the night at intervals of two hours. They are beaten with little bags of sand weighing about six pounds until they vomit blood. Then they are plunged into tubs of cold water, which makes their flesh swell horribly. Then their torture is renewed by twisting the flesh with pincers. The torturers have even gone so far as to remove the sexual organs of several victims, including the lawyer Jelescoff.

"Several victims, including the staff of the Co-operative Society, have been so cruelly beaten with sand-bags that they have been unconscious for two days.

"The ex-Mayor of Varna, Dimitre Condoff, a man of extraordinary intellect, was beaten by sand-bags and then carried on the backs of his butchers to the sea-shore, where he was riddled with bullets. The invariable excuse was made that he was killed in attempting to escape.

"The village of Sudjascoeuil, Varna district, was valiantly defended by the Communists under a bombardment lasting several days. After capturing it the reactionaries destroyed the village.

"A certain Captain Petzoff, of Varna, having taken another village, himself killed a doctor and Major of the Reserves who had fought with the Communists. Having killed them, he burnt their houses.

"In several provinces soldiers revolted and took the part of their proletarian brothers.

"The torturers of the prisoners are in all cases Russian counter-revolutionaries, ex-officers of the Wrangle Army, acting under the instructions of Bulgarian Fascist officers.

"The capitalist press meanwhile spreads lying stories against the Communists, pretending that the Communists had condemned to death the most prominent rich citizens in several towns, and that the executions were only averted by the arrival of Government troops: also that the Communists have dragged into hiding with them many women of the nobility.

"Bulgarian comrades appeal to the workers of the world to boycott the Bulgarian Government."

Karl Liebknecht's Letters.

Luckau, July 7, 1918.

My dearest,

"Rostov, with its bright cheerful activity, with its midnight music of lute and mandoline, reminds one of Milan and Florence."

I try to imagine you there in your childhood, and think if you were there still and everything were different.

I dream of going to Russia again some day, and seeing Rostov, and travelling through the delightful Crimea with you and the others, on those flying little Tartar wagons; and of sailing with you on the Don, and of crossing the Caucasus. And of living in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and in Odessa and in Kief—with you. Just now you are like a fish out of water—then I shall see you in your own element: in Russia—and in Italy. O, my dear, how I want you here near me.

YOUR KARL.

When I was in camp in the forest of the Dwina, in the autumn of 1915, I laid a plan for a school of socialist education. I thought then of Switzerland, where my chief hopes lay. The "scientific work" which you brought me lately belongs to this plan, which, as far as I could, I had finished down to the smallest details. Partly owing to its incompleteness, and partly to the circumstances under which I was working, the thing is still rather complicated and confused, and in parts too prolix. Unfortunately I have never been able to revise it. You might mention it to our Russian friends, and let them know what I have done so far, without mentioning the defects, of course; and give them a copy of the notes I have added to it now.

August, 1918.

Notes on the drama, "Generation," by Unruh.—Notwithstanding the many good points of this drama, it is still, in its substance, thought and feeling, mere ferment, not vision; it poses problems, but gives no solution. The poet may be classed among those philosophers who, as Lessing says while praising them, give themselves more trouble to manufacture clouds than to disperse them. But let us wait and see what the other two parts of the trilogy will bring us. The first part considers the problem from the "universal human" point of view. This absolute and elementary side of it Unruh treats as seriously as possible, but he handles it like one belonging to capitalist society, at odds with destiny; he shakes his fist at the stars, accuses the whole universe, rends himself in his despair, and sees no way of escape. He would like to flee, but cannot; flings himself into a sullen despair instead of battling with his trouble and trying to create a new world.

Secondary problems hide the principal problem from him. He does not recognise causes beyond effects, does not see in social organisation the roots of the evil which grip him, nor the forces which may destroy those roots. This work is the drama of capitalist society, from whose eyes has been torn the illusion of the divinity of its own order. But a fermenting revolutionary spirit runs through all the intense concentration of the work. Let us wait and see if the dawn will follow on this twilight.

Luckau, August 12, 1918.

Dearest,

Just two words. Only yesterday evening I was told about to-morrow's visit. Thanks for the letters and postcards from Wurzburg. How I wish I could have sent a word to Jashca. Where is he now? This journey is a great adventure. I have very pleasant memories of Wurzburg. I did not study there; I only took my degree there, and incidentally had a good time. I have still in my mind's eye the pictures of Tiepolo.

Have you read Milton? If not, please do so. I could swear that Milton has known you—you are his Eve to the life, down to the smallest details. You cannot deny it—read it!

It is pitch dark; I must close. Thousands of kisses to you. Much love to you, dearest.

YOUR KARL.

Greetings and best wishes to all friends, especially Rosa and Matilda, and respective families.

Luckau, August 23, 1918.

Dearest,

This morning early I received your postcard from Saarow, and heard of your last telephone message to the governors. I am thoroughly flabbergasted. Things happen to you which happen to nobody else. Oh Eve! Eve! You understood all my letter—all of it, except this particular point. How did it happen? And yet I explained everything so clearly. Evidently you did not read the letter properly, for everything was explained as clearly as I could put it. I repeat, if it is too late now, let us do nothing more in the matter. My many reasons, which apply not only to myself, I cannot write just now, although I should like to, the decisive things for me are the things set down in writing. In any case, no sentimentality.

The most I can say to-day is this: that my love for you is much warmer than you seem to have understood from my letter. And that you would lock up in your heart all the panorama of the Marca if we two could travel it together. And that I badly want your photo, at once. Why do you torture me with waiting?

Thanks for the writing-pads and the French dictionary. Now I am waiting for Reklam.

Merian's book is not very deep or fundamental; he limits himself to the modern "civilised" music, and unfortunately does not treat the technical part which I have so much need of for my book. But at any rate, he gives one a good deal to think about. His point of view is wise and broad, and his understanding of the history of music is very progressive. He will help to correct Rosa's opinions on Beethoven and Schubert, which have much affinity with the opinions of Merian—if we should ever again be able to return to our art discussions. Did you remember me to Rosa? The newspapers were wonderfully punctual last time. I hope it will last. Remember me to everybody. My love to you, and a thousand kisses.

YOUR KARL.

P.S.—Did I say a thousand? "As the number of the branches, the leaves, the flowers, so is the number of the kisses I would kiss my treasure withal"—if she were here. One thing more. If Bob should torment you very much to stay longer, even till October, I should have no objection. His health needs it more than Helmi's, and he thinks we have to make up to him for the unfortunate and interminable business of the journey to Holland. In any case I leave the decision entirely to you. Last night there was a fearful storm. The sky towards Berlin was really frightful. I thought of you, poor little mouse. Where did you hide yourself?

. . . Oh, if I could I would sacrifice my life a hundred times to help on the only thing that might serve the Russian revolution, and the world! Oh, damnable helplessness! I feel like knocking my brains out against the wall at times.

On Tuesday, the 3rd, I got "Marx" from Franz Meyring, and was profoundly impressed by it for several days. I have twice read through

the second part, which I did not know before. The style of it displays a splendid and insuperable mastery, and only in relation to this part can the first part be properly judged.

Unfortunately I cannot write my thanks and appreciation to Meyring. You write and thank him and tell him how delighted I am, and give him my kindest regards.

Tell him, too, that I hope when better times come to discuss several things in which I differ from him. Also that I should like to see old Blanqu rehabilitated. He is not less worthy than Bakunin, although he has not been outraged and ill-treated like Bakunin. Please remember me to both the Meyrings, and to all those of our friends who are not "nightcaps." My tenderest kisses to you.

YOUR KARL.

Coercion in India

Readers of the notes contributed to our columns from time to time by Mr. B. S. Pathik will follow with anxiety his present experiences.

Mr. Pathik and some of his comrades have been imprisoned and other persons have been arrested on suspicion of being connected with them. It is reported that these prisoners were very badly beaten by the police. Persons thought to have corresponded with Mr. Pathik have had their houses searched and have been arrested.

When arrested, Mr. Pathik was made to travel on foot for over a mile and a half, though he was suffering from a high fever. He was tied up with a rope to a pillar at Meghnivas, where the party halted for the night. His associates were very roughly handled both on the way and at Begoon, where two of them were given solitary confinement. The condition of Mr. Pathik's health is still serious.

CRAVENS.

A poor woman, scarcely able to maintain her eighteen-months-old baby, was told that it was paralysed for life. Declaring that there was nothing left to live for she threw the babe into the Thames and prepared to jump after it. Three men held her back. She was arrested, tried for murder and sentenced to death. The jury did not want to find her guilty; but submitted, like cravens, to the dictation of the judge. Having secured the verdict, the judge called the men who had prevented the woman from drowning herself and gave them four pounds.

Thus was vindicated the law of the private property State.

The Asquith—Campbell-Bannerman intrigues recorded by Mr. Harold Spender in his biography of the latter reveal the pettiness of party politics.

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £107 0s. 2½d. E. Bairstow, 2s. 6d.; F. Chandler, £1; R. Gunderson, 10s.; B. L. Bowers, 7s. 6d.; A. Woolley, 1s. 5d.; F. Brimley, 11s. (1s. monthly); C. Hart, 3s. (monthly); J. Hill, £1; W. C. Boone, 2s. 6d.; C. and A. Beckett, 10s.; S. W. and A. Chandler, 10s.; S. Brooks, 5s.; Anon., 3s. 6d.; Norwich Comrades, 3s.; W. Reid, 5s.; Anon., 5s.; R. Scott, 5s.; H. G. Russell, 5s.; Collections: Shakespeare Café, 7s.; Woolwich, 4s. 2½d. Total for week, £7 10s. 7½d. Total, £114 10s. 10d.

A SALE OF WORK is being arranged in aid of the "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" in the middle of November. Particulars of time and place will appear in next week's issue.

Comrades are asked to send contributions in money and kind to 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

All useful and ornamental articles acceptable: Clothes, groceries, fruit, vegetables, books, fancy goods, etc., etc. Those who cannot afford to give anything themselves should collect as much as they can from their friends. One comrade has promised to collect £10 worth of goods. Who will do the same?

THROUGH AMERICAN EYES.

"In all this uproar the German Socialist Party has cut a most humiliating figure. Its leaders have so often sold their Marxian birthright for a mess of political offices that they have become mere opportunists for preferment, and their policies have long ceased to have any social meaning. Their slow reforms are being abruptly swept away by catastrophic reaction. The leaders abdicated in 1914 when they drummed the German cannon fodder into Belgium, and they have been abdicating ever since. Their persistent cowardice and corruption have been largely responsible for the death of the Labour movement as a ponderable factor in Western Europe. The movement was a useful check on militarism and privilege, but in the successive crises its leadership faltered, and then it went under. The root of the trouble seems to lie in the passive complacency of the old-line Marxian philosophers. It was written in the Book that Socialism was inevitable, so why do anything about it? Our guess is that the downfall of the German Reich would put a final quietus on fatalistic Socialism on the Continent, including Two and Two-and-a-Half Internationals and the like. St. Karl has been crucified again by his own people, and his gospel has passed into the hands of unsentimental aliens from the East, who preach it mightily and heartily but practise it with marked reservations." — "The Freeman," New York.

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COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, meetings to explain the policy of this movement, can be arranged on application to the Secretary, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

W. McCARTNEY, 26, Pasley Road, Manor Place, Walworth Road, S.E.17, is starting a group of the Communist Workers' Movement. Those desirous of joining should communicate with him.

SYLVIA PANKHURST is booking provincial lecturing engagements.—Apply for dates to "Dreadnought" office, 152, Fleet Street.

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FOR SALE.—Bound Volume of "The Commonweal," No. 4, 1888, Official Journal of the Socialist League, edited by William Morris. Very rare. Good condition. What offers?—Box 76.

HEAD READING, by an expert phrenologist.—Proceeds to "Workers' Dreadnought."—Apply, H., Box 20.

To get the address of a good DENTIST apply to the undersigned, who discovered him through the "Dreadnought," and wants to pass on his discovery to other comrades. You will all need a dentist SOME DAY, so write a postcard NOW to R. Scott, Wayside, Capel, Surrey.

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